

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 3328

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TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, UR, US

SUBJECT: CSCE APPROACH TO SOVIET MFA

REF: MOSCOW 2926, STATE 049878

1. AFTER DISCUSSION SEVERAL OTHER MATTERS WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER KORNIYENKO MARCH 3 (SEPTELS), I RAISED QUESTION CSCE IMPLEMENTATION AND MADE ORAL STATEMENT AS PER NON-PAPER PROPOSED FIRST REF AND AMENDED BY SECOND REF. KORNIYENKO HEARD MY LONG PRESENTATION PATIENTLY, ONLY INTERJECTING ONCE TO ASK HOW MANY COPIES OF THE FINAL ACT WE HAVE ACTUALLY CIRCULATED IN THE UNITED STATES. I REPLIED THAT WE COULD NOT GIVE HIM AN ACCURATE FIGURE AT PRESENT.

2. WHEN I FINISHED MY PRESENTATION, KORNIYENKO REPLIED THAT THE SOVIET SIDE WILL BE EXAMINING OUR PROPOSAL CAREFULLY AND THAT WE WILL BE FURNISHED WITH AN OFFICIAL ANSWER AFTER SOME TIME. HOWEVER, THERE WERE CERTAIN PRELIMINARY COMMENTS WHICH HE COULD MAKE ON THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY ME. FIRST OF ALL, KORNIYENKO SAID, OUR SERIOUSNESS AND THE HIGH IMPORTANCE WHICH WE ATTACH TO CSCE HAS BEEN MADE COMPLETELY CLEAR IN VARIOUS STATEMENTS BY OUR LEADERS AND WAS REITERATED AT THE 25TH CPSU CONGRESS. CSCE AND

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THE FINAL ACT ARE VERY IMPORTANT, HE SAID, AND THERE IS

NO NEED AT THIS TIME TO STRESS THIS FURTHER.

3. IN DEALING WITH CSCE, THE QUESTION HAS OCCURRED TO US, KORNIYENKO CONTINUED, AS TO WHY THE AMERICAN SIDE CONCENTRATES ON JUST CERTAIN GROUPS OF QUESTIONS IN THE FINAL ACT AND NOT ON THE ENTIRE DOCUMENT. THE U.S. ALWAYS SEEMS TO BE RAISING THIRD BASKET ISSUES AND DOES NOT DEAL WITH QUESTIONS IN THE FIRST OR SECOND BASKETS. THE PRINCIPLES FIXED IN THE FIRST BASKET ARE VERY IMPORTANT. THEY ARE OBVIOUSLY NOT FOR DISCUSSION EVERY DAY BUT IT IS CRUCIAL THAT THE SPIRIT AND LETTER OF THESE PRINCIPLES BE OBSERVED. HOWEVER, WE HAVE NOTICED THAT THE AMERICAN SIDE SOMETIMES DOES THING WHICH DO NOT CONFORM TO THESE PRINCIPLES. SEVERAL CONCRETE EXAMPLES COME TO MIND, KORNIYENKO SAID. THE U.S. HAS INVITED MINISTERS OF CULTURE OF SOVIET REPUBLICS TO VISIT THE U.S. IN CONNECTION WITH THE BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS. HOWEVER, THE INVITATIONS SPECIFICALLY LIMIT THOSE INVITED TO REPUBLICS WITH POPULATIONS OVER FOUR MILLION. WE ARE POLITICAL PEOPLE, KORNIYENKO SAID, AND OBVIOUSLY UNDERSTAND THAT THE PURPOSE OF THIS CURIOUS INVITATION IS TO EXCLUDE MINISTERS FROM THE BALTIC REPUBLICS. THE USSR CONSISTS OF FIFTEEN EQUAL REPUBLICS AND WHY SHOULD ONE SIDE DICTATE TO THE OTHER WHICH REPUBLICS ARE ACCEPTABLE TO IT. THIS IS A VIOLATION OF THE FINAL ACT IN THAT IT IS CLEAR INTERFERENCE IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS. (NOTE: FOR BACKGROUND SEE 75 MOSCOW 17711.

4. ANOTHER EXAMPLE, KORNIYENKO CONTINUED, WAS THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWS. THIS WAS NOT ONLY A SLANDER ON THE USSR, IN THAT A WHOLE SERIES OF LYING STATEMENTS WAS MADE AT THE CONFERENCE, IT WAS CLEAR AND UNQUESTIONABLE INTERFERENCE IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS, IN THAT IT DEALT WITH A GROUP OF SOVIET CITIZENS. YET THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. SENT PERSONAL GREETINGS TO THAT MEETING. THIS CANNOT BE RECONCILED WITH FINAL ACT PRINCIPLES.

5. THE TENTH PRINCIPLE OF THE FINAL ACT---CARRYING OUT
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INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS IN GOOD CONSCIENCE--HAS ALSO BEEN VIOLATED BY THE U.S. SIDE, WHICH HAS NOT ADEQUATELY PROTECTED SOVIET DIPLOMATS STATIONED IN THE U.S. THERE HAVE BEEN MANY INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS AND CONVENTIONS GUARANTEEING THE SAFETY OF DIPLOMATS AND OTHER PERSONNEL WORKING IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES. THE U.S. HAS SUBSCRIBED TO SUCH AGREEMENTS, YET IT DOES NOT TAKE ADEQUATE MEASURE TO ASSURE THE SAFETY OF SOVIET PERSONNEL IN

THE U.S.

6. THE SECOND BASKET IS ALSO IMPORTANT, KORNIYENKO CONTINUED. YOU HAVE STATED, HE SAID, THAT THE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS IN REGARD TO U.S. LEGISLATION AND MFN ARE WELL KNOWN. HOWEVER, ACTIVE STEPS, AS FAR AS WE CAN SEE, HAVE NOT BEEN SO NOTICEABLE. FURTHERMORE, STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE RECENTLY THAT THE U.S. HAS NO INTENTIONS OF MOVING AHEAD IN THIS FIELD. IT HAS EVEN BEEN LINKED TO EVENTS IN ANGOLA, WITH WHICH IT HAS NO CONNECTION.

7. ON RADIO BROADCASTING, KORNIYENKO WENT ON, YOU HAVE NOTED THE FINAL ACT CALLS FOR THE FREER AND WIDER DISSEMINATION OF ALL KINDS OF INFORMATION, BUT YOU LEFT OUT THE FACT THAT IT ALSO STATES THAT BROADCASTING SHOULD PROMOTE "MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING" BETWEEN PEOPLE. WITH REGARD TO VOA, WE CAN SHOW YOU THAT THIS HAS NOT HAPPENED. TAKE, FOR EXAMPLE, SOLZHENITSYI WHO IS HE? A SELF-PROCLAIMED ENEMY OF THE USSR. HE HAS PUBLICLY STATED THAT THE SOVIET STRUCTURE WILL DISAPPEAR. HE IS AN ENEMY OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM. WHY REPEATEDLY GIVE HIM A PLATFORM? DOES THIS PROMOTE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE U.S. AND SOVIET PEOPLE? IT IS A VIOLATION NOT ONLY OF THE FINAL ACT BUT OF THE ROOSEVELT-LITVINOV AGREEMENT WHICH CLEARLY STIPULATES THAT NEITHER GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE ACTIONS OF THIS KIND.

8. REFERRING TO RADIO LIBERTY, KORNIYENKO SAID THAT BROADCASTS TO CENTRAL ASIA ACCUSE RUSSIANS SPECIFICALLY OF EXPLOITING THESE NATIONALITIES AND REPUBLICS. THIS IS COMPLETELY UNTRUE. STATISTICS FROM YEAR TO YEAR CLEARLY DEMONSTRATE THAT MORE THAN THEIR SHARE GOES TO

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THOSE REPUBLICS TO HELP THEM OVERCOME THEIR RELATIVELY BACKWARD CONDITIONS. YET THE U.S. CONGRESS FINANCES BROADCASTS SAYING THAT THE RUSSIANS ARE SQUEEZING THE BLOOD OUT OF THESE PEOPLE AND EXPLOITING THEM. THIS DOES NOT PROMOTE "MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING", KORNIYENKO SAID.

9. REGARDING FAMILY UNIFICATION, KORNIYENKO DENIED MY ASSERTION THAT THE PERCENTAGE OF FAVORABLE DECISIONS HAS NOT BEEN AS HIGH SINCE SIGNATURE OF THE FINAL ACT AS BEFORE. 247 FAMILIES WERE MENTIONED IN THE REPRESENTATION LIST HANDED TO HIM IN AUGUST, KORNIYENKO SAID. HOWEVER, MORE THAN 50 FAMILIES ON THAT LIST WERE DISCOVERED NEVER TO HAVE APPLIED FOR PERMISSION TO LEAVE THE USSR. PERHAPS THEIR RELATIVES IN THE U.S. WOULD LIKE THEM TO EMIGRATE, BUT THEY THEMSELVES DO NOT

WANT TO. THIS LEAVES LESS THAN 200 FAMILIES. SINCE RECEIVING THE REPRESENTATION LIST, ABOUT 60 FAMILIES HAVE ALREADY RECEIVED PERMISSION TO EMIGRATE, ALMOST ONE-THIRD OF THE LEGITIMATE PEOPLE ON THE LIST. THE U.S. SIDE, KORNIYENKO SAID, IS THEREFORE WRONG IN SAYING THAT THERE HAS NOT BEEN PROGRESS IN THIS REGARD. KORN-IYENKO ADDED THAT HE WAS TALKING SPECIFICALLY OF THOSE WHO HAVE RECEIVED PERMISSION, NOT THOSE WHO HAVE ALREADY LEFT. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT A NUMBER OF THESE FAMILIES HAVE NOT YET APPLIED FOR VISAS. IN ANY CASE, THESE MATTERS SHOULD BE DISCUSSED FULLY IN THE UPCOMING CONSULAR TALKS.

10. WITH REGARD TO MY PROPOSAL THAT STUDENTS AND RESIDENT BUSNISSMEN RECEIVE MULTIPLE ENTRY VISAS, KORNIYENKO RESPONDED THAT THIS SHOULD BE DISCUSSED DURING THE CONSULAR TALKS. HOWEVER, HE ADDED, WHILE IT WAS UNDERSTAND-ABLE TO HIM THAT A JOURNALIST WOULD NEED MULTIPLE ENTRY VISAS, IT WAS NOT CLEAR WHY THIS WOULD BE DESIRABLE FOR A STUDENT, SINCE THE STUDENT WAS IN THE USSR TO STUDY, NOT TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY REPEATEDLY.

1. KORNIYENKO STRESSED THAT THESE WERE ONLY HIS PRE-LIMINARY THOUGHTS AND THAT WE WOULD BE RECEIVING AN OFFICIAL RESPONSE IN DUE COURSE.

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12. COMMENT. ALTHOUGH KORNIYENKO HAS RECENTLY COME BACK FROM VACATION AND IS PRESENTLY ATTENDING SESSIONS OF THE 25TH CPSU CONGRESS, HE WAS OBVIOUSLY WELL BRIEFED AND LOADED FOR BEAR ON CSCE MATTERS. WHILE WE ANTICIPATE THORNY DISCUSSIONS ON THESE QUESTIONS, IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE SOVIETS WILL BE DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO DEMON-STRATE THAT THEY, RATHER THAN WE, ARE CLEARLY ADHERING TO THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE FINAL ACT.
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